

How parties frame social citizenship and the inclusion of immigrants in Germany, Switzerland and the UK

Beatrice Eugster and Valeria Camia
University of St.Gallen

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Redistribution and immigration combined

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The public crave a crackdown on welfare tourism. But are they deluded?

Banning migrants from claiming welfare is a wildly popular policy. But are politicians hyping up the problem, asks Peter Kellner.



Migrants who believe they are not getting access to work or the same social benefits as Britons means of redress at national level* under the new EU legislation. Photo: REX FEATURES

By Peter Kellner, President of YouGov

10:22AM GMT 14 Jan 2014

TagesAnzeiger

SCHWEIZ

ZÜRICH SCHWEIZ AUSLAND WIRTSCHAFT BÖRSE SPORT KULTUR PANORAMA L

Bildstrecken

Bundesrat will Sozialhilfe für arbeitslose Einwanderer stoppen

Aktualisiert am 15.01.2014 350 Kommentare

Wenige Wochen vor der Abstimmung über die SVP-Zuwanderungsinitiative reagiert der Bundesrat mit zwei Massnahmen auf Probleme durch die Personenfreizügigkeit.

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Suchbegriff einget

Debatte um Armutseinwanderung

Hartz IV: Rumänen und Bulgaren stocken häufig auf

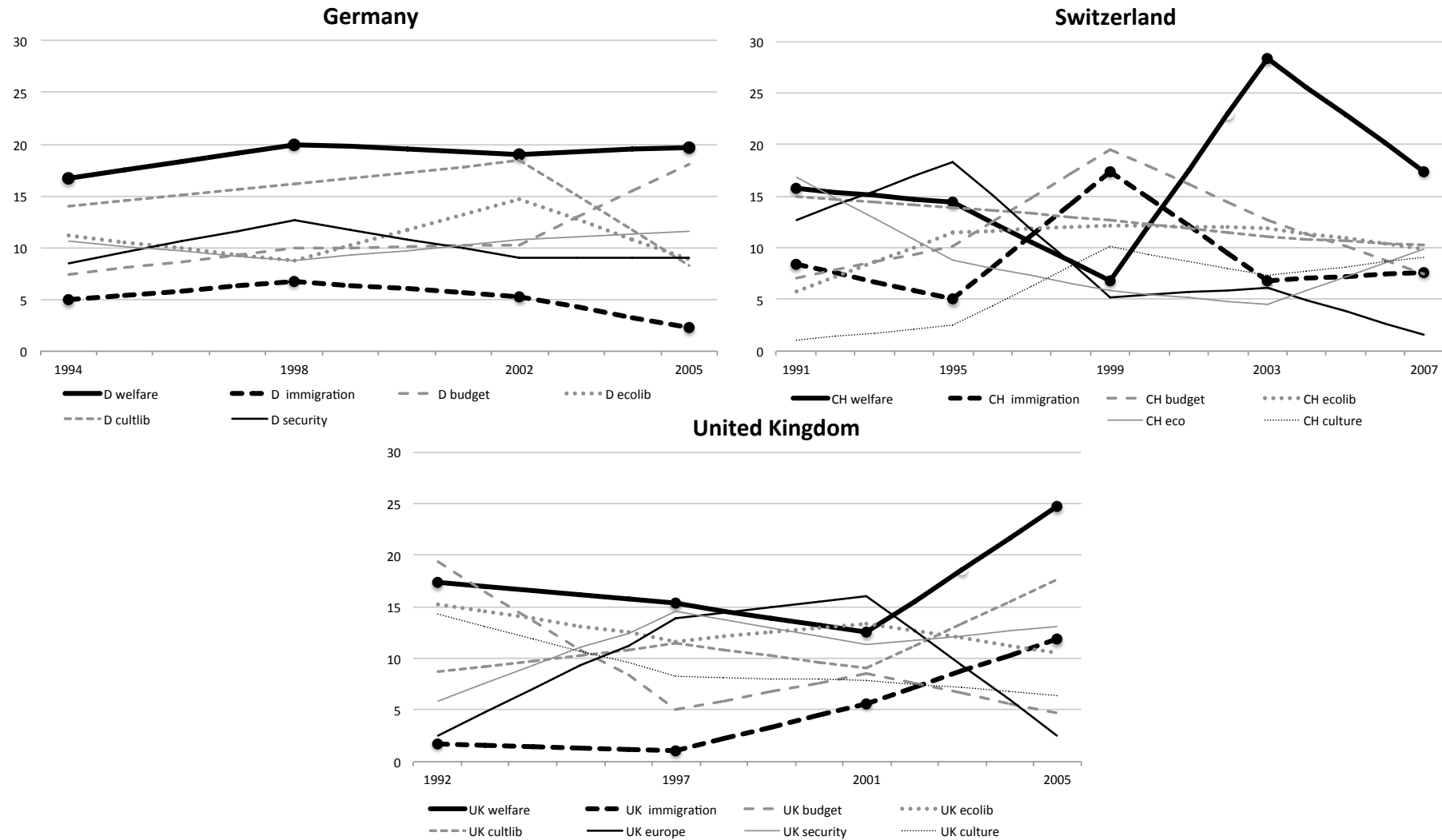
16.01.2014 · Viele Rumänen und Bulgaren in Deutschland sind nicht arbeitslos, sondern stocken mit Hartz IV niedrige Einkommen auf. Vor allem auch viele Selbständige.

Weitersagen

Merken



Salience of cultural and economic issues



Source: Kriesi et al. 2012 (NPW II, National political change in a globalizing world)

Research question

Research question

How, if at all, parties combine redistributive and immigration-related issues in party competition for votes?

Expectations based on Faist

	Social democratic	Cosmopolitan-liberal	Nationalist-populist
<i>Immigration policies (border control)</i>	Restrictive (protection of domestic workers)	Open borders	Restrictive
<i>Immigrant policies (integration)</i>	Inclusive (social rights)	Inclusive (social rights)	Exclusive (no social rights)

Methodology

Cases selection

Two mainstream parties of the Left and Right

UK: Labour Party and Conservative Party

Switzerland: Social Democratic Party (SPS), *Swiss People's Party* (SVP)

Germany: Social Democratic Party (SPD), Christian Democratic Union (CDU)

Sources

Party manifestos between 1999 and 2011.

Method

Thematic analysis, issues as unit of analysis

Organising codes (anti/pro)	Basic codes (anti/pro)
<i>Redistribution</i>	redistribution (unspecific), disability, family, health care, poverty, retirement, social housing, unemployment
<i>Immigration</i>	immigration
<i>Integration</i>	integration
<i>Segments</i>	family, elderly, young, high skilled, low skilled etc.
<i>Immigrant groups</i>	immigrants (in general), asylum seekers, illegal immigrants, labour migrants, refugees; TCNs, EU12 etc.

Results: Switzerland

	SVP				SPS			
	1999	2003	2007	2011	1999	2003	2007	2011
Redistribution & immigrant groups	
anti-redistribution & immigrant groups				
pro-redistribution & immigrant groups					.		..	
Redistribution & immigration			..	.				
anti-redistribution & anti-immigration			..	.				
pro-redistribution & anti-immigration								
Redistribution & integration		
anti-redistribution & anti-integration			.	..				
pro-redistribution & pro-integration				
<i>Redistribution</i>	=	=	-	-	+	+	+	+
<i>Immigration</i>	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
<i>Integration</i>	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
<i>Immigrant groups</i>
<i>Segment groups</i>

Comments: . 1-2 cases, .. more than 2 cases, + pro (>60%), - anti (>60%), = otherwise.

Source: Manifestos for the Swiss national election in 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011.

Results: United Kingdom

	Conservatives			Labour		
	2001	2005	2010	2001	2005	2010
Redistribution & immigrant groups		.				.
anti-redistribution & immigrant groups		.				.
pro-redistribution & immigrant groups						.
Redistribution & immigration						
anti-redistribution & anti-immigration						
pro-redistribution & anti-immigration						
Redistribution & integration						
anti-redistribution & anti-integration						
pro-redistribution & pro-integration						
<i>Redistribution</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+
<i>Immigration</i>		-	-	=	-	-
<i>Integration</i>		-	-	+	-	-
<i>Immigrant groups</i>	
<i>Segment groups</i>

Comments: . 1-2 cases, .. more than 2 cases, + pro (>60%), - anti (>60%), = otherwise.

Source: Manifestos for the British national election in 2001, 2005 and 2010..

Results: Germany

	CDU			SPD		
	2002	2005	2009	2002	2005	2009
Redistribution & immigrant groups	•					••
anti-redistribution & immigrant groups	•					
pro-redistribution & immigrant groups						••
Redistribution & immigration	•		•		•	•
anti-redistribution & anti-immigration						
pro-redistribution & anti-immigration	•		•	•		
Redistribution & integration	••		•	••	••	••
anti-redistribution & anti-integration	•					
pro-redistribution & pro-integration	•		•	••	••	••
<i>Redistribution</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+
<i>Immigration</i>	-	-	=	=	-	+
<i>Integration</i>	-	=	=	+	+	+
<i>Immigrant groups</i>	••	•	••	••	•	••
<i>Segment groups</i>	••	••	••	••	••	••

Comments: • 1-2 cases, •• more than 2 cases, + pro (>60%), - anti (>60%), = otherwise.

Source: Manifestos for the German national election in 2002, 2005 and 2009.

Conclusive discussion

	Social democratic	Cosmopolitan-liberal	Nationalist-populist
<i>Immigration policies</i>	Restrictive	Open borders	Restrictive
<i>Immigrant policies</i>	Inclusive	Inclusive	Exclusive
	Labour SPD (CDU 2005/2009) (SPS)	SPS	SVP (Conservatives) (CDU 2002)

Future emphasis:

- Additional parties (CVP), extending time period
- Explanatory framework, i.e. under which conditions do parties combine redistributive and immigration-related issues

How to deal with practical problems:

- **Border cases** (e.g. language courses for immigrants (pro/anti), laws facilitating recognition of professional qualifications obtained abroad (pro-integration + ALMP or LMP in general)
- Unit of analysis: issues (core sentences) versus paragraphs/chapters